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285 The use of plaited mat material for canoe sails is mentioned on page 181.
531 Informants stated that formerly four light mats were sewn together (*tui*) with strips of pandanus and a fish bone needle to make a sort of rough mosquito net (*ano*).

285 Malos made of soft pandanus *kie* material (*malo kie*) were formerly
292 worn by the men for dress occasions. They were worn with the malo of sennit (*malo kaua*) for wrestling contests and fighting (pl. 3, *c*). Three malos in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum collection are:

Malo 3301. 11 feet 5 inches long, 6½ inches wide, fringe on upper and lower edges 1¼ inches deep. Wefts 12 to the inch. *Paiohiole* pattern. The technique follows the Samoan fine mat style with a lower border commencement of a three-weft braid, the dextral and sinistral elements functioning as fringe (pl. 4, *B*). The top border is a three-weft braid finish, the dextrals and sinistrals again forming a fringe. The working dextrals on the right upper corner are secured with two overhand knots and are not braided. (See 27, figs. 161, 163, 164.)

Malo B366a. 14 feet 4 inches long, 7 inches wide, upper and lower fringe 1⅝ inches deep. Wefts 12 to the inch. *Paiohiole* pattern. The technique varies slightly from the previous malo in that the three-weft braid fixations are worked on the reverse side, so that the garment was probably turned during plaiting. This is further evidenced by the fact that the knotted tail finish is formed on the right lower corner. Not only the lower and upper edges, but the right side as well, have the braid fixation and fringes. It is possible that the left side was plaited in a similar fashion, making the similarity to the Samoan fine mat clear, but the left side is now undefined and ragged, perhaps eaten away by rats.

285 Malo C8069. 6 feet 8 inches long, 10½ inches wide, upper and lower fringes about
292 ½ inch deep. Wefts 8 to the inch. *Paiohiole* pattern. This malo (pl. 4, *C*) was made
178 as a sampler which explains its shortness. The material is soft and pliable, but the modern workmanship is rough compared with the two old malos just described; these malos are no longer made in Pukapuka today and thus the women are not very skilled at the work. The top and bottom edges are fixed by a five-weft braid, the left and right edges are given the customary mat turn. The right upper corner finishing dextrals are knotted.

The design material in all three malos is not overlaid but forms plaiting elements. A fourth malo examined in the field corresponded in all particulars to the first two malos:

285 It was 12 feet 7 inches long and 8 inches wide and had the *paiohiole* design. An
292 informant stated that this malo was one of several made by his mother and given him when he attained sociological adulthood (*wakatane*) about 50 years ago. He suggested that formerly some malos were made 5 fathoms or more long, especially those that might be needed for fighting. I neglected to verify this statement, but if true it means that a malo of such length wound round the waist would have formed valuable defensive equipment against spear thrusts.

Edge-Partington (8, 2d ser., pl. 38, no. 4) figures a typical Pukapukan malo in the British Museum, 8 feet long, 10 inches wide, and with the usual *paiohiole* design.

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283 sennit malos. Four-ply braid is not used for cordage. Braided sennit is termed *kawa*. Sennit made from the selected, long pieces of fiber is *kawa unu;* from unselected strands (*amo*), *kawa wili.* Ordinary three-ply braiding which produces a fairly long, loose braid is termed *kawa wili yaeyae* and is used for ordinary anchor line (*kawatau*) or fishline. Careful three-ply braiding, in which each twist of the plies is pulled very tight to form a close, round braid, is termed *kawa wili tuki;* when made of the long strands (*unu*), it produces especially strong braid used for strong fishlines and canoe lashings.

Braiding is always done toward the body. The commencement end of the plies is knotted and tied to a stake set in the ground before the worker or else coiled round the toe (*iko hi te mangamanga yae*). In three-ply braid, the outside plies are brought over the middle ply in succession, each ply taking in turn the middle position. A shortening or thinning ply is reenforced by direct overlapping on the specific ply affected or else by the addition of a new strand from below, the short end of which is folded back over the middle ply (fig.18,*b*). When it is temporarily abandoned, the braiding is stoppered by twisting plies together or by tying the two outer plies together with an overhand knot. Braiding is permanently finished by gradually reducing the size of the strands until they are very thin and then rolling the three plies together on the sole of the foot to produce about 3 inches of three-ply twist. Shreds of fiber (*wuluwulu*) left on the cord after braiding is finished are carefully cut off with a knife (*taku*) to give a smooth, neat appearance to the cord.

[804] Finished cord is measured by stretching it from tip to tip of outstretched arms across the chest. One such measurement is equal to a fathom (*ngawa*). When the worker has made a sufficient number of *ngawa* for his purposes, he winds the cord into a coil of fathom loops and stores it until needed. Lengths of cord for canoe lashings are made fairly short because the cord must be used uncoiled when lashing through holes in the canoe hull. Working coils for house lashings are made by winding the sennit over the back and palm of the hand. The sennit is taken from the hand, the free end is wound several times round the middle of the coil and fastened with half hitches. The commencement end is pulled from the center of the coil and the lashing started with this end. As the lashing proceeds the coil unwinds itself, but the coiling prevents the sennit from becoming tangled and hard to use.

Examples of three-ply braided cords for various purposes are:

Anchor line C8198 (*kawa tau*): three-ply braid, 6 mm thick, 11 mm wide. The plies thin down to 4 × 2 mm at the finishing end and are twisted into two plies (two plies being twisted as a single element) for 2½ inches and knotted.

Other lengths of braid used as deep-sea fishlines and anchor lines (C8197, C8199, C8198), have thicknesses of 4 × 7, 4 × 8, and 5 × 10 mm. They are all loosely braided pieces of sennit (*kawa wili yaeyae*).

Canoe lashing sennit C8103 (*kawa unu li taka*) is a flat three-ply braid, in which each ply is composed of 13 long cocoanut fibers. Short plies are lengthened by direct overlapping, the slight backward projection of the short end of the added strand being trimmed off later. The finished braid is 3 mm thick, 6 mm wide; the flatness and strength of this braid make it ideal for lashing together hull parts.

283 292 Five-ply (*wili lima*) braiding is reserved exclusively for the making of sennit malos (*kawa malo*). The braiding technique is similar to three-ply braiding save that the outer ply from either side crosses two plies instead

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283 292 of one ply in passing over to the middle position. The under surface of the five-ply braid is termed *aloalo* and is marked by a pronounced transverse concavity. Shreds of coconut fiber left by the braiding are not cut off but are left, presumably to ease the rub of the malo against the skin. The outer surface (*tua*) of the malo is flat and smooth because the shreds are cut off. Braiding is very tight and strong. Informants mentioned that the utmost a good worker could braid each day was about 12 inches, and from this his hands became roughened and torn by tugging at the braiding to make it tight.

A sennit malo observed in the field was of five-ply braid, 33 feet long, ⅜ inch wide, and ¾ inch thick. The commencement end (*kamatanga*) consisted of a two-ply twisted loop, 1¾ inches long. This loop was hitched over a bracing stick in braiding and the four ends braided as a four-ply braid for 1 inch. A fifth ply was then added and the rest of the malo braided five-ply. The finishing end (*wahaotinga*) was fastened with an overhand knot, and a length of two-ply twisted sennit, 4 feet long, 1/16 inch in diameter, was knotted to this end. This length of twisted sennit (*kaua li malo*) is used to secure the malo to the waist when worn or to fasten it in a flat disc when stored.

Malo C8146 is made of two shorter lengths of five-ply sennit joined together by knotting. One section of the sennit is ⅛ inch wide, 3/16 inch thick; the other section ¾ inch wide, ⅛ inch thick. A malo is wound for storage in the shape of a disc (*iho*, pl.3,*C*). The malo is laid on the ground, the commencement end folded in and the rest of the sennit wound round this core to produce a flat disc 11 inches in diameter. The turns are held together by the *kaua li malo* cord which passes from the circumference through the center hole of the disc and back to the circumference again where it is looped round the first turn. The free end is passed round the circumference for 3 inches, then passed down to the center hole, and back to the circumference again, these turns being repeated at every third inch round the circumference.

283 240 223 The ordinary, quickly made, climbing bandage (*koanga*) is made from strips of coconut midrib (*kalava*), chewed to soften the fibers, and then looped by fastening the ends with a reef knot. The coconut climbing bandage (C8057), *koanga kake niu* (climbing bandage to climb coconut tree), is 30 inches long, 5/16 inch thick. More permanent and stronger bandages, braided from pandanus roots, are used by a bird catcher who wishes to be sure that a bandage will not break and throw him to the ground during the several hours he remains in a coconut tree. Young aerial roots of the *yulu* species of pandanus are cut as long as possible and baked in the oven or heated over a fire. The roots are pounded with a piece of wood until the fibers are soft and flexible. Strands of this material are made into a three-ply braid, the ends knotted to form a loop. Climbing bandage C8159, (*koanga yulu*) is three-ply braid, 45 inches long, ¾ inch wide and ⅜ inch thick.

283 461 177 439 Men today spend much of their time at braiding sennit and *uvo* fiber for ropes and fishlines. When the price of copra was high, many European fishlines and ropes were in use, but low copra prices have sent the men back to native materials though they consider cordage making a laborious job.

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Clothing for Special Occasions

292 Both men and women wore special clothes for festivals. The dress of the man for sports contests consisted of the malo of pandanus or the malo of sennit, or both. A non-contestant might also wear a poncho-like garment called *la kupenga*, and a sennit malo with attached feathers. The sennit malo (*malo kawa*) and the pandanus malo (*malo kie*) are described elsewhere (pp. 133, 146). Both are worn for wrestling contests, formerly also in warfare. The sennit malo alone is worn for other contests like spear throwing. The method of donning the two malos (*pelu te malo*) is as follows:

First each fringed edge of the pandanus malo is turned in to make a longitudinal fold about ¾ inch deep. The malo is then folded longitudinally a second time along the mesial line so that the final width of the malo is about 3½ inches. An assistant takes the malo at the middle section and passes it round the waist from back to front crossing the two free ends above the navel. The malo is pulled tight; one free end is passed down over the genitals, through the legs, and brought up the back to hang over the shoulder. The other free end is brought up over the chest and also hung over the shoulder. The assistant takes the commencement end of the sennit malo, places this loop over the pandanus malo at the navel, and winds the sennit malo round the waist on top of the free end (thus burying it) and over the pandanus malo. Five or six transverse turns are made down, then a similar number of turns made up and over the first turns. The assistant continues to wind the malo round the waist until the twisted sennit end is reached. This end is passed down on the outside of the transverse turns, pushed under, and brought up underneath the transverse turns and over to the front again. The free end is pushed through and caught over the downward turn of the sennit cord, pulled tight, and the free end passed along the malo for about 8 inches, and bound round it again. This binding is continued until the transverse turns of the sennit malo are secure, the free end of the binding cord being fastened with a knot to the last transverse binding. One free end of the pandanus malo is now brought down from the front shoulder, passed down over the sennit malo, pushed up and underneath the sennit, then obliquely down and under again, continuing to bind the pandanus malo round the sennit malo until the middle of the back is reached, when the free end of the pandanus malo is tucked under the sennit. At the back, the second free end of the pandanus malo that has passed through the legs is similarly bound round the sennit malo and worked round to the front where the free end is tucked under the sennit malo. Depending on the length of the pandanus malo, the binding turns will be spaced or contiguous. For composite dart throwing contests, the sennit malo alone is girt on as described. One man always helps another to gird on either malo. An alternative method of donning the two malos is given by Macgregor (20, p. 48 and pl. 4).[1]

292 There is a reference in a chant to a malo termed *malo kula*. Informants
285 could give little information about this garment, though they suggested it was not necessarily worn by the chief alone but might be worn by any man who was fortunate enough to own one. It consisted of the ordinary five-ply sennit braiding, but at each twist of the braiding, the quills of small red feathers were inserted and caught by this twist. The name of the bird from which the feathers were obtained had been forgotten.

292 Some braided five-ply malos were formerly made from human hair,
[765] possibly the hair of a beloved child who had died. Presumably these malos

1. [See 2: McGregor, pp. 48, 52 -- Analysis]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

were shorter than those made of sennit and were therefore worn more as ornaments than as protective clothing.

Both the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus are greatly valued today in terms of sentiment and scarcity. No longer being made, they are the greatest heirloom that a man can hand on to his son. Sennit malo C8146 was procured from a childless man who felt he had no further use for it. During the confessional held as a last desperate attempt to save the life of an only male child, the sennit malo that the child would inherit was hung from the house tiebeams as if its highly charged sentimental value might help the child to hold onto life (p. 338).

Informants suggested that the hands of contemporary Pukapukans are different from those of ancient Pukapukans and that therefore the art of making the very tight five-ply braid of the sennit malo has been lost. But, as both malos might be classed by missionaries as heathen garments, there is no longer sufficient incentive in the culture to take the trouble to make them.

The art of making the poncho-like garment (*la kupenga*) worn by men above the pandanus malo has been lost, but from informant's description it seems that it is plaited of fine strips of *kie* pandanus material. Three or four elements were plaited as a single element (*langa tolu* or *langa ua*). The garment was rectangular, falling to the waist at front and back. The neck hole was either square or roughly V-shaped. Hanging ends were fringed with strips of *kie*, and the garment was fastened with strings of *welo* cord (*matai welo*) on either side, one pair of strings under the arms, another pair at the waist. Informants felt that there was no status associated with the wearing of this garment, but it was worn on festive or ceremonial occasions by anyone whose wife or relative had acquired the technique of plaiting it from a dream in which familiars came from the Underworld to teach it. The following lines of an old chant were quoted to prove the antiquity of the garment:

Wakakawua ki te la kupenga	Clothed in the *la kupenga*
Tuputupu a Yiva angaoti	Made as in Yiva (legendary land) certainly,
Yongia ona wakaevevenga.	Smelled its fringe.

Informants said that a Pukapukan man returned from the land of Yiva where the art of making *la kupenga* was also known. He was wearing a foreign-made *la kupenga* when he landed. The people went to greet him and some pressed the fringe of the garment to their noses. This fringe had the smell of a foreign land or of a foreign people. It may be inferred perhaps that the garment was introduced into Pukapuka from the land of Yiva and never became a common article of wear, its use dying out rapidly when the Pukapukans acquired European garments.

Corresponding to the *la kupenga* worn by men was a sort of short cape (*yeu*) worn by women. The art of making the *yeu* has been lost today.

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292 Informants disagreed as to whether it was rectangular or round, but it was finely plaited of *hie* pandanus material. It was slipped over the head and fell to about eight inches below the neck. No fringe is mentioned. Ties from the bottom front were carried round to the back and fastened. Ties from the bottom back were fastened to the front ties at the middle of the back. The garment was thus a cape covering shoulders and breasts. It was probably worn by some women on festive occasions, not from modesty perhaps, but as a type of decoration (*wakamanea* or *mea wakalelei*) or as a sketchy protection against the sun.

Decorative kilts (*takave*) were sometimes worn by the women. They were made by dipping strips of *lito* pandanus material into red dye and fastening these strips either to the ordinary coconut-leaf kilt, thus making a kilt of green and red strips, or else to a separate girdle worn over the coconut-leaf kilt.

Ceremonial Dress

292 Special varieties of the poncho garment, the ceremonial priestly head-
796 dress, and the pandanus malo, constituted the attire of the chief when he went
613 to the religious structure of his lineage for his induction or later for consulta-
643 tions. Special garments were worn according to the god consulted. The
778 garment (*epa*) of the chief of Muliwutu for consulting the gods Malo-
776 kitelangi, Te Matakiate, or Tumailangi, was made of netted two-ply twisted sennit and called *epa kupenga*; that of the chief of Matanga for consulting the god Tumulivaka was made of plaited *welo* fiber (*epa welo*); that of Tua for the gods Mataliki and Tamayei was made of fine plaited *hie* material (*epa lauliki*).

No informant had seen an example of these *epa* garments, but it was suggested that they were made in the shape of the *la kupenga* garment with fringes of the same material as the body. It was believed that the gods concerned wore the type of *epa* garment ascribed to them during their stays in the Underworld and that they came in dreams to the men or women to whom they taught the technique for the appropriate garment. The *epa* of the chief was a very tapu costume, protected both by the sacredness of the chief and the vaguely conceived power of the gods. If any unauthorized person handled the *epa* garment, the god would punish him by striking him dead with a flash of lightning.

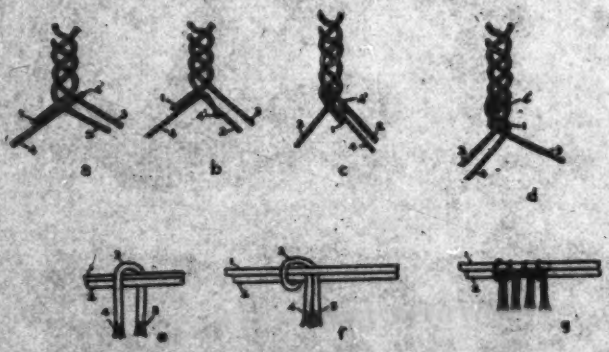
[787 828]

292 A special type of headdress (*taumata kawa* or *taumata alibi*) was worn by the supreme chief and sub-chiefs on festive occasions. Geoffrey Henry reports that he saw the late chief Pilato wearing a hat of this type during the visit of the missionary boat *John Williams* to Pukapuka in 1912. No old hat of sennit exists on the island today, but informants made one which may be considered fairly authentic. Gill (10, pl. p. 18) shows a native wearing a

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

292 padded conical hat obviously not made of netting. There is no information available as to the material from which this hat is supposed to have been made nor of the method of manufacture. Gill's hat may represent an artist's conception of the sennit netted hat of the chief.

286 294 Hat C8094 (*taumata kaula*) is made of two-ply twisted sennit netted into a conical shape (pl. 4*d*). The technique of the netting is the same as that for ordinary fishnets (p. 207). The meshes are ¾ inch wide. The rim of the hat is made of a thin strip of cocosnut midrib ¾ inch wide which is bent into a circle of 7¾ inch diameter and the two ends bound together with sennit. Six vertical strips of midrib, each 8½ inches long, are bound at equal intervals to the rim. The distal ends of these strips are notched, gathered together to form the apex of the cone and fastened together with figure-of-eight turns of sennit. The rim strip and two bracing circular strips of midrib, one strip 2½ inches from the rim, the other 4½ inches from the rim, are passed through the meshes of the hat material and bound to the vertical bracing strips by transverse turns of sennit. A 6-inch fringe is attached to the hat. Fringe material is made by fastening coconut fiber (*kaubawa*) to a base strip of pandanus (fig. 18*e-g*). Two strips of fringe each



283 294 FIGURE 18.—Braiding and fringing technique: *a-d*, braiding; *e-g*, fringing technique (*nuta mahalehaka*, made to bend over) for sennit hat. *a*, three-ply sennit braid, end of ply (1) either short or thin, making it necessary to join to it another strand; ply 1 brought to left and renewal strand (4, *4'*) laid alongside 1, under ply 2; short end *4'* placed over ply 3. *b*, short end *4'* folded down and along ply 2. *c*, ply 3 brought across ply 2 and short end of ply *4'*, locking this short end in position; ply 1 and ply 4, working together as single ply, brought across from outside to pass over ply 3. *d*, short end (*4'*) of added ply securely locked; ply 2 passes over plies 1, 4; ply 3 passes over 2 and ply 4 passes again across 3; continuation of braiding makes join in plies barely perceptible save under closest scrutiny. *e*, strand (*ama*) of coconut-husk fibers about 12 inches long, doubled (3) over two strips of pandanus material (*leawale pukepuke*) (1, 2) which are knotted together at one end and looped over toe, forming near limb (4) and far limb (5). *f*, both limbs (4, 5) brought up between two strips (1, 2), passed over lower strip (2), and pulled tight. *g*, strands of fiber added successively to right; pulled tight and kept close together; pandanus strips (1, 2) hidden by turns; fibers of strands indicated by light shading of strand ends (4, 5). Pukapukan technique inverts Manihikian technique noted by Buck (pp. 9, 135, fig. 47).

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19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ½ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *welo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11½ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

The headdress of priests of Muliwutu was called *aumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Laupapa. Two strips of red-dyed *welo* bark (*wuti welo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipule, and Yamanaia sub-lineage, was called *pulou*, and was associated with the god Te Awuawu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *wuti welo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *wuti welo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tua and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *aumanga pakayou kotaua* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyeu. It consisted of the usual *wuti welo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tua was associated with the goddess Taua. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *hupenga ya*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Taua had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Taua donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Taua had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

The headdress of Yalongo and Yayi lineages was called *putiki kekeo*. It was associated with Te Atua Vaelua and Te Alongaoa. The long hair was oiled and braided

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in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Welo* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long *wuti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

The headdress of Yamatinga was also called *aumanga*, but was associated with Te Maungatu and Talitongamuku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumata*), necklace (*yei*), or waist decoration (*titi*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

Village Decorations

For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder bandoliers. The people of Ngake make their decoration of *muko uala* (the white heart leaves of the pandanus), *lakau yili*, *taumakomako*, or *pola puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau wuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *maile* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*titi*) are worn over the customary basis garment.

The *titi muko uala* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain skein of prepared pandanus (*lito*) is used as a basis girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

292 294 girdle with a single overhand knot so that an inch or more of the green end projects above the knot. The projecting end is laid along the girdle. The second leaf is similarly fastened over both green end of first leaf and girdle, the third leaf over the green end of second leaf and girdle. The process is repeated until a girdle of sufficient length is obtained. A plain headband of *mako wala* leaf is worn with this girdle.

Girdles of *tumutumuko*, *laheu yili*, *pola puka*, and *moile* are made by placing twigs of the plant into bundles, each with the butts in the same direction. Each bundle is overlapped with the next bundle, the butts of the first bundle with the leaves of the second, and the girdle is bound together with continuous transverse turns of fiber stripped from the coconut midrib.

Girdles of banana leaves are made by stringing the stalks of a number of banana leaves on a coconut midrib fiber.

The girdle of coconut leaves is made by tying the ends of a strip of midrib-carrying leaflets round the waist.

293 301 Any of these girdles may be worn as a bandolier by slipping it over the head and allowing it to fall across chest and shoulder. A bandolier of the *nou* plant is a favorite decoration of Ngake villagers. A thin strip of coconut midrib is bent into a circle and the ends fastened together. *Nou* twigs are laid round the rim of midrib and bound to it with transverse turns of green coconut leaflet.

Waist girdles made of pieces of pearl shell shaped like the shanks of small composite pearl-shell fishhooks and strung on a length of *uvo* fiber were termed *uvo titi ui*. They were worn as a fringe across the front of the waist on top of the basis garment. This ornament was a prized one and was worn only by persons of status. It was also an appropriate gift to [764] give to the corpse of a beloved relative. One was seen by the grave diggers who opened an old grave by mistake (p. 164), but there is none on the island today.

Edge-Partington (8, 2d ser., pl.38,5) sketches a "girdle worn by men consisting of a long string of cowrie shells. The string passes along the mouth of the shell and plugged (*sic*)." This girdle, which is in the British Museum, is 120 inches long. Such a girdle would be intolerably heavy when worn round the waist, and it is possible that what was originally a sinker line for a seine net has been mislabeled as a waist girdle. My informants did not mention a girdle of this nature.

Breast Ornaments

301 431 Breast ornaments were made of flowers or more permanently of pearl shell or other shells. Leis (*yei*) are made of *tiale* flowers strung together on a strip of pandanus. More elaborately, *tiale* flowers are alternated with transverse slices of the ripe pandanus key. These are made and worn by young men and women, often as lovers' gifts.

301 Permanent leis of pearl or small sea shells are termed generically *yei*. One type of breast ornament (*yei liki ui*) is shown in figure 19,*a*. Another

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

more correct name would be *yele mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yele manu* (fig. 4,*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ere vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yelea ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa clo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatautili ai taua i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakaula ko te wale poutini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Leva) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

> The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

[See p. 64, category 116—analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats; these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts, but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial behavior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures. Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaffected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

Sickness in general was *maki atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki kai kiko*, sickness caused by incest; *maki atua kino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te yunanga o te atua ki lalo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

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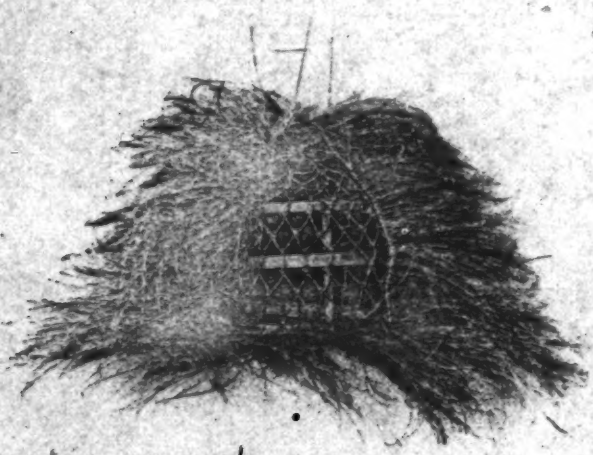

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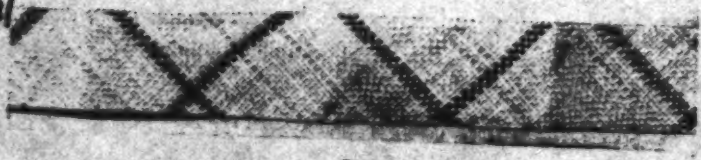

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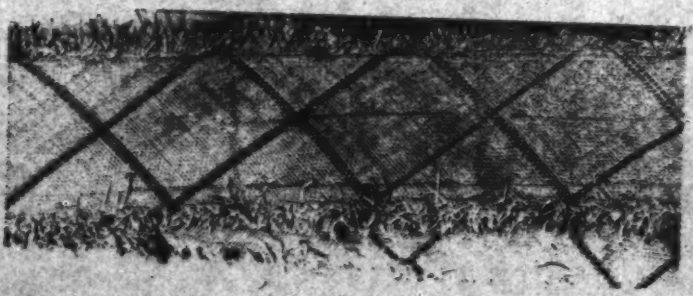

C

HAT AND MALO. *A*, SENNIT NETWORK HAT OF THE CHIEF, SHOWING COCONUT MIDRIB STRIPS OF FRAME, TWO-PLY TWISTED SENNIT NETTING, AND COCONUT FIBER FRINGE DECORATION. *B*, MODERN SAMPLER FOLDED TO SHOW WIDTH WHEN MALO IS DONNED. *C*, MALO OF FINELY PLAITED PANDANUS, OLD AND UNFOLDED. BOTH MALOS SHOW THE TYPICAL DIAMOND-SHAPED DESIGN.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
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[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for description of wrestling competitions and the wrestler's malo, see p. 48.]

Z;Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

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PLATE 3.—House in Te Motu, used by watchmen in ancient times to guard over taro patches. One original corner post and one side post have been reenforced by new posts.

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PLATE 4.—Wrestler's malo.